

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 06360 01 OF 02 061336Z

65

ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 L-03

FRB-03 OMB-01 ITC-01 SP-02 USIA-06 AGR-05 AID-05

CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04 NSAE-00 OIC-02

SIL-01 STR-04 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 CEA-01 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 /138 W

----- 032076

R 061208Z AUG 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1740

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6360

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECOSOC, EGEN

SUBJECT: 61ST ECOSOC SESSION - ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY: IN TERMS OF US INTERESTS, THE MAIN ACHIEVEMENT AT THE ECOSOC SESSION JUST CONCLUDED WAS CLEARLY THE INITIATIVE ON ELICIT PAYMENTS. THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME ON THIS SUBJECT MIGHT PROVIDE SOME LESSONS FOR HANDLING OF OTHER ISSUES IN THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. OUR MAIN PROBLEM-- PARTICULARLY AT THE BEGINNING AND AT THE END OF THE SESSION-- WAS GRAPPLING WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON GENERAL POLICY STATEMENTS HAVING LITTLE OR NO SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT BUT A HIGH PROPENSITY FOR DIVISIVENESS AMONG WESTERN DELEGATIONS AND WITH THE G-77. THE OUTCOME ON THE OMNIBUS ECONOMIC ITEM WAS THE BEST PRACTICABLE, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND OUR STANCE WAS DETERMINED PRIMARILY BY POLITICAL FACTORS IN THE NEGOTIATING CONTEXT, NOT SIMPLY BY THE SHORT TEXT THAT EMERGED. THE ATMOSPHERE THROUGHOUT THE SESSION HAS BEEN GOOD. US DEL PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE, ONE THAT HAS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 06360 01 OF 02 061336Z

BEEN PERCEIVED AS CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE BY

OTHER DELEGATIONS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED SOME CREDIT THAT MAY BE HELPFUL IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL. HOWEVER, THE MAIN INFLUENCES THERE ARE LIKELY TO BE DETERMINED BY COLOMBO, MEXICO CITY, AND WHAT HAPPENS IN CIEC AND ON UNCTAD FOLLOW-UP. END SUMMARY.

2. THE ECOSOC SESSION, WHICH BEGAN IN ABIDJAN ON JUNE 30 AND CONCLUDED IN GENEVA ON AUGUST 5, CAN BE ASSESSED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF (A) ATMOSPHERE AND (B) RESULTS. WHILE "ATMOSPHERE" IS SOMEWHAT EPHEMERAL AT BEST, IT WAS WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS GOOD THROUGHOUT THE SESSION. A FEW MAJOR EVENTS INTRUDED--THE ENTEBBE RAID, THE STALEMATE IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE, THE AFTERMATH OF UNCTAD IV, THE BIG SHADOW OF THE FORTH-COMING COLOMBO CONFERENCE, AND THE SMALLER SHADOW OF MEXICO CITY. BUT NONE OF THESE ISSUES PROVED SERIOUSLY DISRUPTIVE. MOST SURFACED ONLY BRIEFLY IN AN EXPLICIT WAY IN THE ECOSOC PROCEEDINGS. THERE WAS ONE DISAGREEMENTABLE RESOLUTION ON THE PLO AND AN UNACCEPTABLE ONE ON THE CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES (CERDS). IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, ECOSOC ESCAPED THE MORE EGREGIOUS FORMS OF POLITICIZATION.

3. THE RESULTS OF THIS SESSION, LIKE MANY UN MEETINGS, MAY BE LOOKED AT FORMALLY IN TERMS OF RESOLUTIONS AND WORKLOAD COMPLETED. THREE PRINCIPAL COMMITTEES AND THE PLENARY SESSION ADOPTED SOME 60 RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS, ALL BUT TWO BY CONSENSUS. MORE MEANINGFULLY, HOWEVER, THE WORK CAN BE BROKEN DOWN INTO SEVERAL MAIN CATEGORIES--PUR ROUTINE THAT CAN BE IGNORED; THE UNDRAMATIC BUT FAIRLY COMPLEX ACTIVITY OF NEGOTIATING TEXTS CONCERNING ECOSOC'S A REVIEW AND COORDINATING FUNCTIONS; AND, LASTLY, THE HIGH-VISIBILITY ITEMS.

4. SINCE WE HAVE SENT DETAILED REPORTS ON INDIVIDUAL ITEMS, WE SHALL ONLY MENTION THE HIGH-VISIBILITY CATEGORY HERE. THESE INCLUDE THE DECLARATION OF ABIDJAN, IN WHICH THE PRINCIPAL ACHIEVEMENT FROM THE US STANDPOINT, WAS TO BURY A TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE G-77 COMPENDIUM OF EXTREME DEMANDS AND COMPLAINTS AGAINST

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 06360 01 OF 02 061336Z

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. BUT WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE POSITIVE BENEFITS DERIVED FROM OUR ABILITY TO GO ALONG WITH THE SHORT FINAL DECLARATION.

5. THE SECOND HIGH-VISIBILITY ITEM WAS THE OMNIBUS ECONOMIC RESOLUTION WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE AT LEAST AS DIFFICULT AS ANTICIPATED. WHILE THE TEXT WAS BRIEF, THE UNDERLYING POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND TACTICAL

QUESTIONS PROVED PERPLEXING FOR WESTERN DELEGATIONS. FROM USDEL'S STANDPOINT WE COULD HAV GONE EITHER WAY ON THE MERITS AND WOULD NORMALLY HAVE RECOMMENDED ABSTENTION. IN VIEW OF THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES DERIVING FROM THE NECESSITY FOR WESTERN SOLIDARITY--EXPECIALLY WITH THE CANADIAN DELEGATION REPRESENTING THE WESTERN CO-CHAIRMAN OF CIEC--WE JUDGED IT PREFERABLE TO ACQUIESCE IN CONSENSUS WITH A STATEMENT TO PROTECT OUR ESSENTIAL POSITIONS. WE SHARE WHAT WE BELIEVE IS THE VIEW OF MOST OF OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES THAT THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE G-77 OF THIS TEXT WILL BE LIMITED AND, OF COURSE, IT INVOLVES NO NEW SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, AN OPEN BREAK WITH GHE G-77 OVER IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DRAMATIZED AND USED BY SOME OF THE RADICALS AT COLOMBO--EXPECIALLY THOSE WHO WANT TO UNDERCUT PEREZ-GUERRERO AND KILL THE CIEC. (INCIDENTALLY, THIS RESOLUTION PUTS OFF THE QUESTION OF WHEN AND ON WHAT BASIS THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY SHOULD BE REVISED; THE GA WILL HAVE TO LOOK AT THIS QUESTION.)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 06360 02 OF 02 061334Z

65

ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 L-03

FRB-03 OMB-01 ITC-01 SP-02 USIA-06 AGR-05 AID-05

CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07 INR-07 LAB-04 NSAE-00 OIC-02

SIL-01 STR-04 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 CEA-01 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 /138 W

----- 032033

R 061208Z AUG 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1741

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 6360

6. THERE IS PROBABLY NO WAY TO AVOID THE TIME, EFFORT AND RISK OF EMBITTERING THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE THAT IS INHERENT IN FREQUENT AND REPETITIVE NEGOTIATION OF WHAT ARE ESSENTIALLY UN POLITICAL DECLARATIONS ABOUT ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUES. WE MAY WISH, HOWEVER, TO CONSULT FURTHER WITH THE DEPARTMENT AND WITH OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK ABOUT IMPROVED UN HANDLING OF SUCH EXERCISES.

7. THE LAST HIGH-VISIBILITY ITEM AND, CLEARLY, THE MAJOR US ACHIEVEMENT WAS THE MANDATE FOR A WORKING GROUP TO SEEK AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON ILLICIT PAYMENTS. THIS EFFORT SUCCEEDED DUE TO THE COMBINATION OF EXCELLENT BACKSTOPPING, DETERMINED EFFORT IN CAPITALS, CAREFUL AND PROLONGED NEGOTIATION IN GENEVA, AND SOME LUCK. IT IS PERHAPS ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE THAT THE US SUCCEEDED IN THIS INITIATIVE BECAUSE (A) THERE WAS NO UNIFIED WESTERN SUPPORT FOR IT (QUITE THE CONTRARY UNTIL LATE IN THE GAME), AND (B) MANY LDC'S WERE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 06360 02 OF 02 061334Z

DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OR INDIFFERENT AND A FEW WERE HOSTILE. WHILE EVERYONE PROFESSES OPPOSITION TO SIN, MANY COUNTRIES OBVIOUSLY HOPED OUR INITIATIVE WOULD BE QUIETLY SIDE-TRACKED AND FORGOTTEN.

8. WHILE WE HESITATE TO DRAW ANY BROAD CONCLUSIONS, THIS EXPERIENCE DOES AT LEAST RE-EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ADVANCE PREPARATION AND CONSULTATION IN CAPITALS, FLEXIBLE TACTICS INCLUDING WILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE OTHERS ON LANGUAGE, AND AVAILABILITY OF NEGOTIATORS ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND TACTICAL POSSIBILITIES. PERHAPS THE ONE POINT TO BE SINGLED OUT IS THAT NO ONE WAS ABLE TO ACCUSE US OF LAST MINUTE SURPRISE OR FAILURE TO EXPLAIN OUR PROPOSAL OVER A PERIOD OF TIME.

9. THE US DELEGATION PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE THROUGHOUT BOTH PARTS OF THE ECOSOC SESSION-- ONE THAT RECEIVED MUCH FAVORABLE COMMENT FROM OTHERS, BEGINNING WITH GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S SPEECH IN ABIDJAN AND ENDING WITH THE SUCCESS ON ILLICIT PAYMENTS. MANY OF THE SAME UN DELEGATION MEMBERS AND SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS GO FROM MEETING TO MEETING. THEREFORE, THE FACT THAT THE US WAS PERCEIVED AS HAVING BEEN DETERMINED BUT "CONSTRUCTIVE" AT A SERIES OF MEETINGS THIS YEAR-- NOTABLY THE UNDP GOVERNING COUNCIL AND THE ECOSOC--HAS GENERATED GOOD WILL THAT SHOULD CARRY OVER TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS

FALL. NATURALLY, THE POLITICAL CONTEXT AND DEGREE OF HEAT IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE WILL DEPEND PRIMARILY ON HOW THINGS LOOK FOR THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE IN GENERAL-- NOT LEAST THE CIEC AND FOLLOW-UP TO UNCTAD IV.

10. APART FROM THE USDEL, THE EC-9 (LEAD FORMALLY BY THE NETHERLANDS OBSERVER BUT IN FACT BY THE UNITED KINGDOM) PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE; SUBSTANTIAL WESTERN UNITY WAS MAINTAINED AND EFFECTIVELY USED ON MOST ISSUES. THE SOVIET BLOC DELEGATIONS AND CHINA KEPT A LOW PROFILE, LIMITING THEMSELVES TO MINOR AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTIONS JUST TO KEEP THEIR HANDS IN. EVEN THE USUAL DREARY PROPAGANDA SPEECHES WERE DELIVERED IN RELATIVELY QUIET TONES. FAR MORE INTERESTING IS THE INTERNAL DYNAMIC  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 06360 02 OF 02 061334Z

OF THE G-77 WHICH WE COMMENTED ON IN GENEVA 6232. THE LDC "MODERATES" SEEM TO BE UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE DUE TO WIDESPREAD DISAPPOINTMENT WITH UNCTAD IV RESULTS, STRAINS BETWEEN SOME OF THE PARIS G-19 AND THE G-77, AND A MORE MILITANT PAKISTANI STANCE RELATED TO BHUTTO'S SUMMIT INITIATIVE. WHILE THE HARD LINERS ARE NOT IN CONTROL (AT LEAST NOT YET), SOME NEGOTIATION SITUATIONS SEEM MORE VOLATILE THAN USUAL DUE TO LACK OF A CLEAR DEVELOPING COUNTRY LINE.

10. TO SUM UP, THE ECOSOC SESSION JUST CONCLUDED IS NOT LIKELY TO HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. IT DID, HOWEVER, AFFORD A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO SEE THE POST UNCTAD G-77 RELATIONSHIP AT A MEETING THAT TOUCHED PERIPHERALLY ON MOST OF THE SUBJECTS CONSIDERED AT NAIROBI. A FAIR AMOUNT OF SOLID BUT UNDARMATIC COORDINATION AND REVIEW WORK WAS ACCOMPLISHED SUCCESSFULLY. AND THE U.S. PUT THROUGH A MAJOR INITIATIVE, PROVING THAT ECOSOC CAN STILL BE USEFUL TO US.  
CATTO

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976GENEVA06360  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760303-0981  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760877/aaaacpma.tel  
**Line Count:** 263  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** 61ST ECOSOC SESSION - ASSESSMENT  
**TAGS:** EGEN, US, ECOSOC  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006